

TO THE VOTERS

OF

Adams, Franklin, Fulton, Bedford and Juniata Counties,

Composing the XVIIth Congressional District of Penn'a.

Having become the People's candidate for Congress, and knowing it to be impossible for me to meet personally every voter, I have concluded to publish an address, and briefly indicate my views upon the three leading issues presented in the Resolutions adopted by the People's State Convention. These are:

First—The Tariff Question.

Second—The Kansas Question.

Third—The Extravagance of the Federal Administration.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

For twenty years, American Labor has not been so prostrate as at present. On all sides and from all quarters we hear of silent workshops, abandoned manufactories, deserted wharves, enfeebled trade, reduced wages, diminished employment, and, especially in the great centres of business, well nigh universal stagnation. In this, as in every great calamity, all branches of trade sympathize. The causes of this prostration I need not discuss; but it is too clear for argument, that as the power of evil legislation has largely contributed to these

unhappy results, the power of wise legislation should be applied to their remedy. Hence, the Revenue Policy of the Country should be revised, and a Tariff should be enacted which would discriminate in favor of Home Labor, encourage the profitable investment of Home Capital, protect the honest Home Importer from the false valuations of the dishonest, replenish our exhausted Treasury, give employment to Home Mechanics, and create a demand for Home Products—thus vitalizing the energies of the Nation, making the world our tributary instead of us being the world's, and largely increasing the wealth, prosperity and power of the whole people. Protection in 1842 re-created American Trade. It gave a glow to every occupation and speedily raised the Nation from extreme prostration. In 1858, it would be covering the country with "blessings and benefits," if the Administration of Mr. Buchanan, which is controlled by a jealous and selfish interest hostile to the growth of Free Labor, were not determined upon trying, even at the risk of the Nation's prosperity, the chimerical experiment of Free

Trade, with its inevitable consequence, Direct Taxation. It will be passing strange if the Workigmen of the Country—who are most deeply concerned—do not rise in their might to rebuke the policy which prefers a *local* to the *general* interests, and which consents to the domination of the less over the greater. However the Administration may ignore the fact, the Free Labor of the Country needs, deserves, and *must have* Protection. Whoever would refuse to give it, is neither wise nor just, neither liberal nor patriotic.

THE KANSAS QUESTION.

The Policy of Mr. Buchanan's Administration upon this subject, was probably the most flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of American Liberty known to our history. Its persistent attempt to compel Congress to admit Kansas into the Union, unconditionally, under the Lecompton Constitution, which the people of the Territory had repeatedly repudiated in the most emphatic and solemn manner, and in every mode known to the laws, involved such hideous doctrines as these :—

That Congress has the power to *drag* a State into the Union, in a mode distasteful to the majority of the people thereof.

That Congress has, and the people of an incipient State have not, the right to determine what shall be the terms of their Constitution.

That the people of an incipient State are not sovereign over their domestic affairs, and that Congress and the Executive are ; and that Congress is under no obligation to respect the popular will.

The Administration did not avow these doctrines, although all are involved in its policy ; but it sought by cunning evasions, ingenious pretexts and miserable technicalities to conceal from the people the true questions at issue. But these facts are indisputable : The people of Kansas at a regularly and legally-held election, in January last, by a vote of 5 to 1, repudiated and voted down the Lecompton Constitution. The Legislature of the Territory at its last regular Session, unanimously remonstrated to Congress against the acceptance by Congress of the Lecompton Constitution ; and the Territory's Delegate in Congress, fairly chosen by a large majority at a regular election, protested against this wrong to his constituents. But one voice, worthy of respect, came from the Territory. It was the voice of an **OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF ITS INHABITANTS**, protesting against all attempts by Congress to force upon them, by Federal bayonets, a Constitution to whose provisions

they were unalterably opposed. This voice was not even regarded, much less obeyed, by the Administration. It was dispised, and every appliance was used to make it ineffectual. Congress was urged to adopt the Lecompton Constitution absolutely and at once, to force the State into the Union notwithstanding the protests of all but a small fraction of its population, and thus to deny the sovereignty of the people over their domestic affairs, constituting Congress a Despot and the people its Slaves.

I have said that the Administration did not avow its purposes. But when, in the history of the world, has Power in its ceaseless contest with the People, wanted pretexts, wherewith to conceal its aims ? In 1776, devices abounded ; but whom did they deceive ? Not our Fathers ; for their native sagacity and sound sense penetrated the masks assumed by royalty. Likewise, the hideousness of Lecomptonism has become apparent, and has aroused the feeling of indignation before which the enemies of Popular Rights everywhere are quailing.

When the Lecompton policy of the President was first disclosed, it shocked the public conscience. Several Administration members of Congress went to Washington, determined to prevent the consummation of the wrong. At first, they steadily resisted all the blandishments of Power, and the Country applauded. Presently, some were reported to be wavering. Soon they fell, and the votes of these change-lings gave Power the victory it achieved. Among these, was Hon. WILSON REILLY, the member from this District, whose course, endorsed by his party, is now before the people for trial. He stood firm for months, voted for an investigation into the facts (which the Lecomptonites opposed,) allied himself with the friends of Justice and Popular Rights, was admitted into their counsels, and then suddenly and without apparent cause, he grew faint-hearted. He deserted his principles, broke his pledges, falsified his declarations, and voted for Lecompton—having first prepared and delivered a speech in defence of the measure which he had so loudly and bitterly, publicly and privately, denounced. I have heretofore mentioned the various modes in which the People had recorded their hostility to the Lecompton Constitution. All did not avail to drive Mr. REILLY from its support. He sustained it with his might—in the face of those repeated declarations of the People. I leave him to explain away this great fact, if that be possible.

By a large majority, the people of Kansas have recently repudiated the "English Bribe"

which the Lecomptonites offered them; and it is now declared by the Administration's paper that as the People of Kansas have not accepted admission under the Lecompton Constitution, they shall not be admitted as a State, until their population be trebled. The position of the Administration then is--If the people of Kansas agree to make a Slave Constitution, they may have immediate admission; if they refuse and offer a Free Constitution, they shall meet an indefinite postponement. I protest against this discrimination in favor of the formation of Slave States like Alabama, and against the formation of Free States like Pennsylvania, as invasive of the principles of the Constitution--as being unequal, unjust, unprecedented and oppressive.

The Kansas question can be settled readily. But no settlement will be worthy of the name--which is not based upon fair, just and equitable principles. We must have an end of the other system which has striven to coerce the people, overawe them with bayonets, and drive them to surrender their rights. Force is not the condition of our government. *The consent of the governed is.* Let, then, the former principle be abandoned, and the latter become the pole-star of our policy. Under it, the will of the people will be respected, the duty of Congressional obedience to the WILL OF THE MAJORITY will be recognized, and the present unjust and insane policy will be superseded by another more liberal, more enlightened and more conformable to the principles which underlie Republican Government.

THE EXPENDITURES OF GOVERNMENT.

The growth in the expenditures has been enormous. Since 1830, while our population has little more than doubled, our expenditures have increased seven fold! They are now equal to \$23 to every voter.

For the last fiscal year (which ended June 30th, last,) the expenditures were Eighty-four Millions, Nine Hundred and Sixty-three Thousand Dollars, (\$84,963,000,) as Senator HUNTER, of Virginia, stated in his late speech on the Finances. To procure the funds necessary to meet these enormous expenditures, Loans were resorted to, and FORTY MILLIONS of Debt were created at the late session. Notwithstanding this, the condition of the Treasury is such as to make new loans next winter inevitable. The weekly expenditures of the Treasury largely exceed the receipts. This excess, for the week ending July 26th. was, according to the published official statement, \$591,953; or nearly Six Hundred Thousand Dollars! This arises

from the heavy appropriations made at the last session of Congress, which are stated by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, in an official publication, to be as follows:

RECAPITULATION FOR 1858.

Legislative, Executive, Judicial and Miscellaneous.....	\$12,796,646 42
Diplomatic and Consular	912,120 00
Indian Department and Pensions.....	3,407,156 85
Army. Fortifications, Military Academy and Military Roads	25,683,610 46
Naval Service.....	14,508,354 23
Post Office Department	19,047,456 00
Ocean Steam Mail Service.....	1,460,750 00
Collection of the Revenue.....	3,600,000 00
Treaty with the King of Denmark...	408,731 44
Total Specific Appropriations.....	\$81,824,825 40
<i>Permanent</i> —Interest on Public Debt,	3,445,314 35
<i>Indefinite</i> —Claims, Allowances, &c.,...	2,000,000 00
Total Appropriations for 1858....	\$87,270,139 75
Add unexpended balance of last year, applicable to this.....	16,586,588 00
Total appropriations for the year,	\$103,856,727 75

Last year the ordinary revenues of the Government amounted to Forty-six Millions, Five Hundred and Fifty-seven Thousand, Four Hundred and Eighty-nine Dollars and Sixty Cents, (\$46,557,489.60.) If the revenues this year be the same, the appropriations will be over FIFTY-SEVEN MILLIONS in excess of the revenue. Of course, this deficiency will be supplied by Loans, as were those of the last year. In private life, he is called a poor financier and thriftless man who spends twice his income. Yet this is precisely the position of the Government.

Instead of retrenching expenditure, the present Congress, at its late session, *increased* certain of the appropriations. For whilst the *specific* appropriations of this year are nearly \$82,000,000, the *specific* appropriations of last year were but a small traction over \$72,000,000.

Whilst Congress have thus prodigally voted away the Public Money, they have as prodigally voted away the Public Lands. During the last fiscal year they gave 6,196,000 Acres to Railroad Companies in the new States, declining to supply Companies in the old States with similar bounty, thus damaging the general Treasury when in need of funds, and building up one portion of the country at the expense of another.—The value of these lands to the Treasury was between Seven and Eight Millions of Dollars.—Besides this, Government property has been shamefully sacrificed. Fort Snelling, in Minnesota, was sold for Government, by the Secretary of War, *without public notice*, at a totally inadequate price, to a combination of partisans who have realized and will realize very large profits from the transaction. While Willett's Point, on Long Island, was bought for Government by the Secretary of War, for \$1,000 an

Acre, which was not worth half the money, and had been offered to Government for less—the buyers in the former case being the sellers in the latter, with the Secretary of War, generally, and with reason, believed to be a silent partner in these nefarious transactions.

It is needless to particularize in what departments wastefulness of expenditure prevails. IT ABOUNDS IN ALL. In 1840, the appropriations were \$24,139,920. In 1858, they are nearly \$104,000,000! In these eighteen years, they have more than quadrupled! How long will the people endure the profligacy which has caused the largest portion of this increase?

GENERAL REMARKS.

Our Government should be the purest on earth, as it is among the simplest. Yet Senator TOOMBS, of Georgia, a leading member of the Democratic party, said in a recent speech in the Senate, in the face of the world, that it "was one of the most corrupt Governments under the Heavens." Senator HALE and others concurred in this opinion—adding, that this corruption was found largely in the legislative branches of the Government. Similar is the testimony of Hon. R. BRODHEAD, of Pennsylvania, for many years a Democratic member of each House of Congress. The growth of abuses must have become alarming, or these Representatives would have been unwilling to make, publicly,

declarations so seriously affecting our National Character. Let the People ponder these facts, and remember that LIBERTY HAS NEVER THRIVEN AMID CORRUPTION. The safety of the Government is, therefore, involved in the early and thorough correction of these evils.

Every Patriot is interested in the prompt and efficient restoration of the Government to a purer and better standard. The duty rises above the claims of party. No man can disregard it, without infidelity to the highest interests of himself, his Country and Mankind.

I have thus briefly reviewed some of the leading issues of this campaign, and have presented only what I believe to be facts bearing upon them. I hope that early legislation will correct the manifold evils now undermining us, will purify the Government, will increase the prosperity of the People, and promote the cause of Free Representative Government throughout the World.

Hoping that whatever persons are elected to the next Congress, will go to Washington impressed with the necessity for Reform, and will *not forget this necessity when there,*

I remain your fellow-citizen,

EDWARD McPHERSON.

Gettysburg, August 18, 1858.

REPOSITORY AND TRANSCRIPT, PB.